

THE CANADIAN RAILROADER

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Vol. 2, No. 48

MONTREAL, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1920

10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

Austere McGill Comes Off The Hill

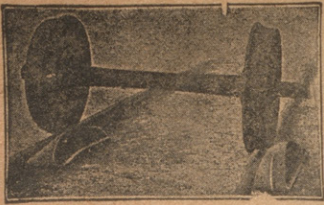
SIR ARTHUR CURRIE, Principal of McGill University, who has in recent speeches been expressing the broad ideals of the labor movement in regard to higher education, in an address at Montreal on November 21 got down to translation of these ideals into terms of practical application. In doing so he again largely followed the lines of labor and the ordinary thought of ordinary citizens. One might almost suspect that Sir Arthur has been a careful reader of the Railroader, which tries to be a carrier and interpreter of the news and views of the common people. Whatever the inspiration, it "rang the bell", anyway, as the saying is. McGill is coming off the hill of snobocracy and exclusiveness and "it isn't done, you know" with remarkable speed and efficiency, for which let us all be thankful, and for which McGill ought to be thankful, too, for its own sake.

The following is a quotation for the summary of the address referred to, as it was reported in the Gazette:

"In the course of his address, Sir Arthur Currie emphasized time and again his desire that McGill should get close to the civic life of Montreal, as a great factor in moulding its character. To this end he was especially anxious to see an increase in the university extension services, for those who could not undertake a regular college course, and the extension of the privileges of the excellent library at the University to the citizens. Another feature he strongly dwelt upon was his desire that there should be such facilities offered in the way of scholarships that no young man of unusual talent should be denied the benefit of a university education because his parents were unable to afford the expense. As part of the present activity he hoped to see the establishment of a fund to this end. At present many men whose services to their fellow men might be made infinitely more valuable were compelled to do laborious work, simply because of poverty. The function of a university should be to encourage talent, and close its doors on nobody who gave promise of service to his country. Proceeding, Sir Arthur urged that educational institutions should have a closer relationship with the national life. If it were possible he would like to see a foundation established which would do away with the necessity for fees at McGill, so that the highest education should not be denied anybody."

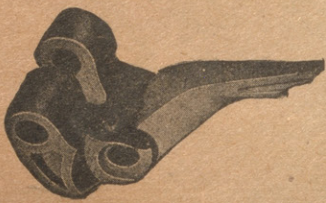
—Kennedy Crone.

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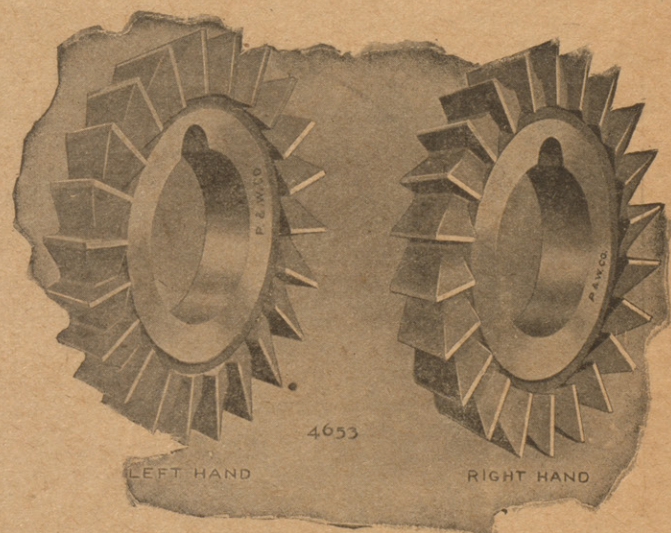
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WINDSOR.

Misconstruing The Tariff Board Plan

THE Montreal Gazette in the main endorses, without knowing it, the plea of Canadian organized labor for an advisory tariff board, as the editorial reproduced on this page, from the Gazette of November 19 will show. Where the Gazette goes wrong (it does it periodically and other papers copy the error from it, notably the Toronto Globe) is in assuming what has repeatedly been denied, that the supporters of the tariff board idea want the tariff taken out of politics. They have not said that they wanted to take the tariff out of politics; what they have said is that they wanted the partizan politics taken out of the tariff, which is a totally different matter. The notion about depriving Parliament of control of the tariff cannot be discarded, as the Gazette advises, for the reason that it has never been entertained.

In presenting the view of organized labor of Montreal before the tariff commission on November 17, Mr. J. T. Foster, President of the Trades and Labor Council, made it clear that labor was asking for an advisory board which would make its reports to Parliament, not a board with legislative rights, which are the prerogative of Parliament.

The Gazette's editorial follows:—

A TARIFF BOARD.

(Gazette, Nov. 19).

The notion that the tariff can be taken out of politics had better be discarded by those who entertain it. There is only one way in which the thing can be done, and it is by general agreement upon a fiscal system, a condition at which the people of Canada are not likely to arrive for a long time. In the United States the tariff was not taken out of politics by the appointment of a permanent Tariff Commission, but by acceptance of the principle of protection by the great mass of the electors, and until we in Canada have reached a similar unanimity the tariff will remain the predominant issue. The error into which Mr. Foster, president of the Trades and Labor Council, has fallen is in confusing two quite separate and distinct things, namely, the making of a tariff and the administration of a tariff, the former pertaining exclusively to the legislative and the latter to the executive authority. To invest a Tariff Commission with power to make, alter and vary schedules of duties would be to divest Parliament of control of taxation, and utterly destroy representative government, a step no class of electors in Canada will consciously take.

That is not to argue, however, that a permanent Tariff Board is undesirable. On the contrary, we believe such a body can perform useful and beneficial service. The majority of the House of Commons elected in 1911 was of that opinion, approving a bill introduced by the then Government of Sir Robert Borden, in fulfilment of a pledge previously given to constitute a Tariff Board, and only the existence of a Liberal majority in the Senate actuated by party motives prevented the bill becoming law. All the arguments marshalled eight or nine years ago in support of the plan remain with unweakened force to-day.

It would be the business of a Tariff Board to study the operation of rates as affecting both revenue and industry, to collate facts and figures bearing on domestic and foreign trade, to receive representations touching the tariff from manufacturers, merchants and consumers, and to conduct investigations into industrial conditions when so directed by the Government. But the Tariff Board would not make the rates. It would constitute a branch of the Finance, Customs, or Trade and Commerce departments, of all three for that matter, gathering information, supplying data, and perhaps initiating research and enquiry to aid the Government in tariff policy and proposals of tariff legislation.

Mr. Foster would clothe the Board with authority to administer the tariff, "to so manage the tariff as to enable industries to prosper," an intolerable power to vest in one irresponsible body. The administration of the tariff is the function of the Department of Customs. Parliament approves the schedules of rates recommended by the Cabinet and the Minister of Customs, through his officials, collects the duties. The Customs Act supplies the means by which the Tariff Act is operated, and officers of Customs must continue to be the instruments by which duties are collected. Disputes, however, occur from time to time between importers and Customs officials. There are frequently differences of opinion as to classification and consequent rate of duty. A permanent Tariff Board might advantageously have conferred upon its jurisdiction to determine these differences. There is now a Board of Customs consisting of the Commissioner of Customs, and such other officers of Customs as the Governor-in-Council from time to time appoints. This Board has power to reappraise values for duty, and by section 58 of the Customs Act it is provided that:—

"Whenever any difference arises, or whenever any doubt exists as to whether any or what rate of duty is payable on any class of goods, the Board of Customs may declare the rate of duty payable on the class of goods in question, or that such goods are exempt from duty, subject in each case to an appeal, by any person interested, to the Governor-in-Council; and any such declaration by the Board of Customs when approved by the Minister shall have force and effect as if the same had been sanctioned by statute."


Now, the objection to this otherwise proper provision, is that the appeal of the importer is apt to be from Caesar unto Caesar, from the Commissioner of Customs in the ordinary discharge of his duties, to the Commissioner as chairman of the Board of Customs. As a matter of practice, this official in his primary capacity must frequently be called upon to adjudicate a question which in his secondary capacity he is subsequently required to review; he sits, in fact, as judge in both the original and the appellate court, and it is not an adequate rejoinder to state that he is associated in the Court of Appeal with officials whose superior officer he is.

A useful function of a permanent Tariff Board would be to hear and determine differences between importers and officers of Customs respecting ratings and value for duty. This Board would have an independence, a fresh mind on the subject, and its authority would not clash with that of the Customs department in any way. The Tariff Board would not make a rate of duty, but merely determine classification, and its rulings would be an instruction to officers of Customs in collection of duties. We conclude, therefore, that a permanent Tariff Board would be a useful administrative agency, as well as a material aid in supplying data relating to the operation of the tariff, though it would not take the tariff out of politics, nor deprive Parliament of the control of taxation which rightly pertains to it alone.

Comforted.

Mrs. Cassidy: Norah Maguire is takin' on awful! Her husband got three years, but he can get wan for good behavior.

Mrs. O'Brien: Tell her to rest aisy. Sure, an' he never behaves himself.—Edinburgh Scotsman.



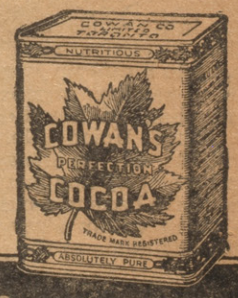
COOKERY COLUMN

Cocoa Caramels

3 cups brown sugar
 $\frac{3}{4}$ cup milk
 1 tablespoon molasses
 $\frac{1}{4}$ cup butter
 $\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon cinnamon
 9 tablespoons Cowan's Cocoa
 1 teaspoon vanilla
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup chopped nuts
 $\frac{1}{6}$ cup sultana raisins

Method:—Put all ingredients in a saucepan except vanilla, stir over gentle heat till sugar is dissolved. Boil until a soft ball may be formed when tried in cold water. Cool slightly, beat until creamy, add nuts, vanilla and raisins. Pour on to greased plates and mark in squares before it hardens.

G109



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Montreal Newspapers Bent On Having Strike of Police Union

By KENNEDY CRONE

IF there is another strike of Montreal policemen in the near future the tribute for the affair can be laid at the door of Montreal's daily newspapers, with perhaps two exceptions, judging mainly from editorials, but also to some extent from the nature and form of news.

Is it a matter of considered policy, at a time thought to be suitable for destroying the Police Union? Or is it a matter of the bungling that results from an ingrown prejudice against trade unionism generally, coupled with half-boiled information? Or is it a matter of simon-pure affection for the dear peepul, ill-judged, maybe, but in good faith? It is one of the three. I leave the choice to the meeting.

The Star published the police union's new demands, as follows:

It was stated that the new scale of salaries as asked by the police union is as follows:—Captains, \$2,500; lieutenants, \$2,300; sergeants, \$2,100; detective-sergeants, \$2,750; detectives, 1st class, \$2,500; detectives, 2nd class, \$2,300; detectives, 3rd class, \$2,100; constables, 1st class, \$1,900; constables, 2nd class, \$1,800; constables, 3rd class, \$1,700.

The following scale is now in force and has been since last year:—Captains, \$2,040 to \$2,500; lieutenants, \$1,860 to \$1,980; sergeants, \$1,680 to \$1,800; detective sergeants, \$1,920 to \$2,160; detectives, \$1,680 to \$1,800; constables, four classes, from \$1,200 to \$1,500.

A further demand is that after January 1, 1921, the city will not keep in its employment any constable, detective or higher officer, up to a captain, who will not be a regular member in good standing of the Federal Police Labor Union No. 62. Nor will the city be allowed to keep in its employ any man who shall not have become a member of the union within sixty days after his admission to the police force.

The Union placed these demands before the Administrative Commission in the ordinary way, with a request for consideration and consultation and without threat, actual or implied, of any sort. The Union did not want a strike and neither did it expect that the Commission would give cause for one. It was believed by the policemen that a round-table conference would smooth out the whole matter. At the time of writing, November 22, the question of the demands is under consideration by the Commission and has not been publicly dealt with by the Commission.

On November 10 the Gazette, which is a frankly anti-trade union paper, published the following editorial:

A few days ago an aged night clerk in a drug store situated on one of the principal thoroughfares of Montreal was shot down by a pretended customer, receiving injuries from which, a few days later, he died. The murderer escaped and is still free. At the inquest held upon the body of the victim, the question of police protection was very naturally raised. It was shown conclusively that the police protection in the district concerned is, at the best, inadequate,

and was almost negligible on the night of the murder, the situation being such as to prompt an expression of opinion by the Deputy Coroner that those responsible for the condition of the force were morally guilty of the victim's death. A statement prepared in connection with this case showed the police force to be far below the numerical strength at which it stood in 1914. That is to say, the police force, instead of being strengthened in proportion to the growth of the city, has actually fallen below the standard of six years ago, a standard which was none too high at that time. This is a serious condition and one which calls for a remedy.

Montreal is a rich and constantly growing city and has, in common with every metropolitan centre, its criminal underworld. Its citizens must have in their employ, and for their protection, a force of vigilant, active and loyal police, strong enough, numerically and otherwise, to ensure, in reasonable degree, the safety of the lives and property entrusted to their guardianship. Such a force Montreal does not now possess, and for two reasons. In the first place, it is numerically inadequate, and, secondly, its loyalty is open to question. This grave deficiency in the usefulness of the force is due to the process of unionization. The Soviet idea has become disturbingly manifest in the conduct of the Montreal police, who are disposed to dictate to their nominal superiors the terms and conditions upon which they will discharge their trust, the ever present alternative being a refusal to discharge it at all.

This is an intolerable situation. The numerical weakness of the force, as emphasized in connection with the Hoerner murder, ought to be remedied, but future enlistments should be made conditional upon a declared willingness to serve the city as it has a right to be served. Before even these steps are taken, there should be a thorough investigation as to the attitude of the force as now constituted, and a definite understanding reached as to whether the police propose to be controlled by their superior officers or by a group of union officials. If the force as a body takes the position that it can, at the bidding of these union officials, and with the support of Mayor Martin, play fast and loose with the duty entrusted to it, the city must then assert and vindicate its authority, even at the cost of a contest. The Mayor of Montreal, who is titularly its chief magistrate, cannot divest himself of responsibility in connection with the condition which has arisen, a responsibility which ill-becomes the holder of his office, and if he persistently fails in appreciation of what is due to that office, the citizens must have recourse to the remedy which is in their hands. A show-down between the city and the police, and with the Mayor, may involve the citizens in

temporary inconvenience, but drastic measures will be necessary if the police persist in their present attitude. Montreal has only to look to what was accomplished in Boston, where a trial of strength between the city and the police ended in a notable civic victory, a victory which so commended itself to the people of the United States that the man chiefly responsible, Calvin Coolidge, now finds himself the vice-president-elect of the Republic.

The President of the Police Unions, Sergeant Arthur Bouchard, replied to the editorial in these terms:

To the Editor of The Gazette:

Sir,—An editorial appeared in this morning's issue of your paper which, I believe, shows either a gross ignorance of the facts or a deliberate attempt to mislead public opinion, on the part of those who wrote or inspired it.

There is not a single union official, or a group of officials, who can or would control the free action of the members of the Montreal Policemen's Union. The representations which are made to the civic authorities, and the communications which are rendered public, are the result of the free study and deliberations of the general meetings of the members, and are a sincere expression of opinion from the majority of those who, through their experience, are in a position to discuss with some amount of knowledge police organization and police matters generally.

The union has never attempted to impose their views by force. The only time that they were forced to go on strike—a course of action which every member firmly hopes that he will never be obliged to take again—was due to the fact that the civic authorities had constantly refused to listen to them. And as soon as these authorities accepted arbitration, every member of the union returned to work.

Those only who are ignorant of the facts relating to the Boston police strike, approve of the attitude of the civic authorities of that city in that matter. Those who know what happened before and during that strike, and who are conversant with the conditions existing in that police force since then, will always regret that that unhappy event was allowed to occur.

The opposition of the Montreal Policemen's Union was originated and is fostered by those who know that as soon as the civic authorities, the administrators of the police department and the union join hands and work together, the joints where gambling, drunkenness and prostitution, commercialized vice, as it is called, flourishes will have to disappear; and the political property owners who derive enormous revenue from real estate where that outrageous traffic is carried on will have to go minus their criminal profits.

Hoping that you will give our side of the subject as much publicity as you gave the other side, I am

Yours truly,
ARTHUR BOUCHARD,
President.

Montreal, 10th November, 1920.
President Bouchard might have added that the main reason why the police force is understaffed is that the rich city which needs so much protection is not willing to pay for being protected. Service should be mutual. If the police serve the city, the city should serve the police. But

the Gazette seeks all the service from the police and says nothing of service in return.

The reference to the Soviet idea is fantastic, and may be dangerous. A quick way to further establishment of a Soviet is to deny to decent wage-earners that self-expression and self-determination which they can secure, to some extent, anyway, through the legitimate trade union and in no other way, except in a few remarkable cases of which the Gazette establishment itself is not an example. A legitimate trade union, such as the Police Union, is not based on any Soviet idea, and if the Gazette thinks it is it should report the affair to the Canadian Government, which is evidently laboring under a delusion, as it apparently has a good deal of sympathy for legitimate trade unions. The truth is that the Gazette knows neither a Soviet nor a trade union.

The Gazette published President Bouchard's letter in the issue of November 11, and the following editorial in an adjoining column:

There appears elsewhere in this issue a letter signed as by the President of the Policemen's Federal Labor Union, No. 62, in which objection is taken to the position of The Gazette with regard to the unionization of the police force. As the attitude complained of was one of hostility to the unionization of a force which is employed to safeguard the lives and property of the citizens, to discharge a trust with which the ultimate weapon of the trades union can never be reconciled, the objection of a union official was to be expected. On the other hand, the letter of the union president does not state a case which supports his complaint. The statement that "there is not a single union official, or a group of officials, who can or would control the free action of the members of the Montreal Policemen's Union" is as true of the police union as it is of any other union and no more, and may be dismissed as an example of familiar but unconvincing trades union patter. There is, of course, no such thing as "free action" in a trades union; the principle of free action and the principle of trades unionism are as far apart as the poles. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the union does deliberate and decide in the manner described by its president, is the situation made any better from the standpoint of the service? Assuredly not. The picture which the union president presents to us is that of a Soviet in which the rank and file decide among themselves and for themselves in what manner and to what extent the plans and instructions received from their superior officers, are to be carried out. The obligation of a policeman has been likened, by President Wilson, among others, to that of a soldier. Had the rank and file of the Allied armies in France taken it upon themselves to decide for themselves whether or not or in what manner the orders of their officers should be obeyed, the war would have had a very different conclusion. The system was adopted in the Russian army, with the result which all the world knows. If that system is being resorted to by members of the police force of Montreal, it is well that the citizens should know it.

The statement is made that the police union has never "attempted to impose its views by force," but as that statement is (Continued on next page).

in conflict with the record, an exception is made, together with the explanation that the men were "forced" to go on strike, and hope they "will never be obliged" to strike again. Here is the essence of the whole difficulty. The members of the police force, either at the bidding of their union officials or by the "free action" of some sort of Soviet assembly, are arrogating to themselves the right of determining upon what conditions they shall be employed. Their weapon is the strike. The threat of a strike, whether expressed or not, is back of every demand or claim that is put forward by the police union, or by any other union. It is never absent. Both sides know that. If the union cannot get what it demands by other means, it is "forced to strike."

The police union is now demanding a higher wage and an undertaking that the city will not employ non-union policemen. That means the closed shop, and the purpose of the closed shop is to inflict upon the employer a maximum of injury in the event of a strike. It is upon this point that no compromise is possible. The strike of a police force has been described as a crime against the community; it is nothing less. It is an invitation to the thief, to the assassin, to the incendiary, a notice to them that they may ply their criminal trades with impunity, and there can be no justification for such a course. If the policeman as an individual is aggrieved he may carry his complaint to those above him. If redress is denied him at that source, he can take his appeal to the bar of public opinion through the columns of the press which are open to him as to any other citizen having a just grievance. He lays his case then directly before his employers, and he can be sure of justice. He is not content with that.

President Bouchard knows what he is talking about when he says that there is no control of the Police Union by anyone but its members. He only repeats what every trade unionist is aware of, and there is no cause to labor the point. What the Gazette needs in the connection is a kindergarten course in trade unionism.

The members of the Police Union have never taken upon themselves, nor are they in the least likely to take it upon themselves, to decide for themselves whether or not or in what manner their officers should be obeyed. What they do, and have a right to do, is to make collective representations to those officers on matters of common justice or improved administration without fear that they will be censured or discriminated against for so doing, and the only way to do it is the collective way.

Even the soldier has the right of free and safeguarded appeal in the matter of grievances. Even when he is on trial for army offences, his interests are properly protected. An unfitted or unpopular superior officer does not last long in the army, but he can last an age in a police force, because he has the power of the army officer without the checks carefully provided by law to protect the rights of the men in the army.

The police were clearly forced to go on strike last time, and soldiers would strike, too, under the same circumstances. He is a poor, spineless specimen of humanity, policeman or parson, who when he has uselessly explored every avenue of conciliation and appeal to obtain his elementary rights, and finds himself, rather, the project of vicious at-

tack for daring to claim these rights, will not use pressure to obtain that which has been denied him in his pleas.

The Gazette claims that the purpose of the "closed shop" is to inflict upon the employer the maximum amount of injury in the event of a strike. According to the Gazette's own argument, then, the purpose of the "open shop" must be to inflict the minimum of injury on the employer in the event of a strike (or, to put it another way, the maximum of injury on the employee). That's a fine argument for the "closed shop," if there were no others.

Really, however, the first purpose of a "closed shop," from a union point of view, is to have non-unionists carry their share of the work and responsibility in connection with advantages gained for them by their union comrades. There are always non-unionists who fatten on the efforts of their union comrades, yet shirk association with those comrades. Their code of ethics has a bad kink in it somewhere. In ordinary ways of life they would be described as selfish parasites. In unionism they are known as scabs or rats. The secondary purpose, which follows on the first, is to prevent the employer smashing the union, a legitimate and a very necessary precaution as years of experience have shown.

As to the policeman as an individual taking his grievances to those above him or to the bar of public opinion through the press, that is mere piffle and humbug. If individuals could do these things there would be no trade unions. Trade unions exist because individuals cannot do these things. The record of accomplishment of trade unionism in these things is such, and the record of failure of individuals in these things is such, that trade unionism to-day represents, directly and indirectly, more than two million of the inhabitants of Canada, and will represent many more as time goes on. Tell any trade unionist, or anyone who knows anything about trade unionism, what the Gazette offers as a substitute for trade unionism, and he will counsel you to tell it to the marines.

In the same issue of the Gazette is a news item which contains the following paragraph:

It is understood that the Administrative Commission will not accept the clause that none but union policemen and detectives be employed by the city.

"It is understood," can cover a multitude of newspaper sins. Who is it "understood" by? What ground is there for the understanding when the Administrative Commission given out for publication his views without attaching his name to them, and, if so, who is he who works in the dark, and why? These are some of the questions which curious persons, sniffing propaganda, would like to have answered.

Let's have a look at the Star. The Star is not so frankly anti-union as the Gazette, but its oft-expressed kindly toleration of trade unions, usually with a saving "but," is a thing to ponder over, especially if you happen to know the Star. On November 11 the Star published the following editorial:—

The city depends upon the police force, the fire brigade and the water supply staff for protection against thieves, burglars, incendiaries, highwaymen, in short for the protection of the lives and property of all citizens.

The men of these three services should be paid generous wages; indeed, we would recommend paying them extraordin-

ary wages because they are guardian of safety engaged in hazardous work.

When it comes to the question of organization and control the men of these three services should not identify themselves with any trade unions subject to the rules of a walking delegate. That a walking delegate from a foreign country can step into Montreal and to satisfy his caprice can order the police, or firemen, or water supply staff to strike and desert their posts is an intolerable condition. Everybody will say "pay the men generous wages and salaries, but keep them out of unions that are enabled to paralyze the protective forces of the city."

It matters comparatively little to the welfare of the commonwealth if a strike takes place in a newspaper office, or a cotton mill, or a machine shop, but the idea of a strike amongst the guardians of public safety at the dictation or through the manipulations of an agent, International, Federal, Provincial or Municipal, is odious and insufferable. We are willing to be taxed to pay generous wages to our guardians of public safety, but they must be under control, their loyalty must be free from the whims of paid strike propagators.

There should be no wavering, no compromise, no shilly shally surrenders. In paying the guardians of safety ample wages make them subject to only one authority—the managers of the city. To talk of the closed shop for police, or firemen, is farcical, suicidal, and the best of the trades union leaders admit it. Montreal cannot be governed honestly and safely if its police force is subject to the whims of mischiefmakers, whose salaries depend upon stirring up strike.

To surrender to the demand for closed shop conditions for the police means encouragement to the thieves, the gamblers, incendiaries, the murderers, houses of ill-fame, and the whole of the criminal classes.

Trades unions are legitimate in nearly all trades. They are often of decided use to both employer and employed, but the spectacle during the strike of 1919, when the water works were deserted and the city exposed to the dangers of a conflagration should make us resolute in keeping our firemen, our policemen, and water staff from obligations inimical to the city's safety.

President Bouchard replied in the following terms:—

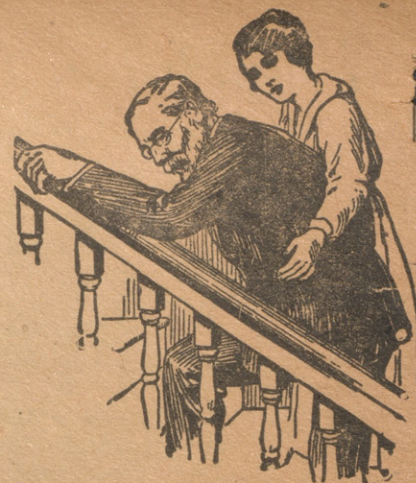
Editor, Montreal Daily Star:

Sir,—In two of your recent issues, you have published leading editorials re: Policemen, Firemen, and Water Works staff. Will you allow me to correct a few of the misstatements contained in those articles?

You say, in your issue of the 11th: "That the men of those three services should not identify themselves with any trade union, subject to the rule of a walking delegate—(?). That a walking delegate—(again ?)—from a foreign country can step into Montreal and to satisfy his caprice can order the police, firemen, or water supply staff to strike and desert their post is an intolerable condition."

I have no authority to speak for the water works staff, nor the firemen. But I can speak for the policemen, and I do not hesitate to say that I agree entirely with you on that subject.

Now, I take you to be honest and desirous of giving to your



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readers true statements of facts in all cases. And in this matter of the full autonomy and complete independence of our union from all outside interference, if you will send a member of your staff, or any reputable citizen or group of citizens to our office, Room 11, 182 St. Catharines East—we are there every day—we will prove to your and everybody's satisfaction, by letting you, or them, go through our constitution and records, that the Policemen's Federal Labor Union, of Montreal, is a perfectly free organization, completely independent of all and any outside control.

We would be very glad to submit to the investigation I am suggesting, for we know that there is a lot of misconception of our true status amongst the public.

As to your other statement, that "The police should never go on strike." I again agree with you on the principle; but I do not agree with you on the means you propose to adopt to attain that end. The policemen should not be bribed to desert their union. Not only because nothing that will endure can be obtained by dishonest methods, but for the reason that, now that the policemen have once had a union, at the least provocations, at every grievance that cannot be immediately adjusted, a new union would spring up again. And as a new organization is always full of fight, be-

(Continued on page 13)

The British Coal Situation

(By H. TAWNEY, in the *New Republic*, New York.)

IF—which is improbable—foreign observers of British politics have any attention to spare from Ireland for the government's handling of domestic problems, they may be pardoned if they find its treatment of the coal crisis, not much less bewildering.

Machine guns and bombs are not, however, the only instruments of warfare; and the subtler arts, which formerly were connected with the name of the Press Bureau, have been directed against the miners almost as though they were a foreign enemy. The Prime Minister, who is a little blown upon in England, launches warnings against Soviet government on the acquiescent air of his native Welsh mountains, or watering places, or chapels—a mere Englishman may be pardoned for forgetting the latest taste in scenery of so versatile an artist. Respectable papers alternately denounce Mr. Smillie for misleading his members and denounce his members for not following the advice of Mr. Smillie.

When the Federation urged that the large profits taken by the government from the coal industry, instead of being used as indirect taxation to relieve payers of super-tax and death duties, should be applied to reduce prices to the consumer of coal, the cabinet, who, if Cromwells in Ireland, are constitutional purists at home, protested that it was "unconstitutional" for workmen to take an interest in the price of the commodity which they produce.

When the miners obediently dropped the demand for a reduction in prices and concentrated on that for an advance in wages, they were rebuked for their selfishness by a government which had recently given the mine-owners a legal guarantee for something more than twice their pre-war profits. When they had the audacity to say that they really could not accept lower real wages than before the war, the government demanded that they go before a tribunal, under the impression, apparently, that since it succeeded in averting a strike last year by promising to carry out the decisions of the tribunal appointed by itself, and broke its promise when the strike was averted, the repetition of

that ingenious expedient would command enthusiastic confidence.

The prosperity of any highly organized industry depends on mutual confidence and good will, because effective co-operation is impossible without them. And mutual confidence and good will are precisely the qualities which are destroyed by the policy of bribing the mine-owners with large profits and promises of "decontrol," and then pitting the miners against "the community" when the miners protest. The economics of the problem are fairly simple, though candid men may quite reasonably come to different conclusions as to its solution. The system of state control over the coal industry, which was built up during the war, has, with certain modifications, been continued. The essence of it is that the government regulates prices, guarantees to the mine-owners a certain standard of profit by means of a levy on the more profitable mines, and, when that profit has been paid, retains the surplus. In fixing the profit standard to be guaranteed to the owners, it might have been supposed that the government would have based it upon the average profits of the years preceding the war, which, during the period from 1909 to 1913 worked out, when royalties (roughly £6,000,000) are excluded, at an annual average of £13,000,000. In fact, however, that was not the course pursued. On the contrary, the government allowed the mine-owners to choose as the basis the profits of the best two out of three, or best four out of six, of the years before the war, or to substitute for that, if they thought fit, a profit of nine per cent. This meant, in effect, that a profit of £22,000,000 was guaranteed to the mine-owners, or nine millions in excess of their average pre-war profits, and that they paid excess profits duty only upon profits above that figure. On that not insubstantial foundation a more imposing edifice has since been erected. Another £4,000,000 profits has been guaranteed the owners, in addition to the paltry £22,000,000, as interest upon new capital sunk in the interest; in addition to this £26,000,000, which is free of excess profits duty, they are allowed one-tenth of any surplus profits above that figure; while the profits from coke ovens and by-product plants, which are not under the Coal Controller, probably come to something between another £6,000,000 and £11,000,000. The aggregate profits of the mine-owners are uncertain. What is clear is that they have been guaranteed by the government rather more than twice, and must actually be receiving nearly three times, their pre-war profits.

This preposterous arrangement was fought by the miners in the House of Commons earlier in the

year, when the legislation on which it reposes was before Parliament. At the present time, however, it is not over the profits guaranteed to the owners, but over the surplus above them received by the government, that the struggle has arisen. Owing to the enormous demand of the continent, exported coal can be sold abroad for famine prices, with the result that the government receives a surplus, the precise amount of which is disputed—the Federation officials put it at roughly £60,000,000, the government at less—but which is known to be large. That such a surplus should be obtained by squeezing the wretched peoples of Europe is economic nationalism run mad, and is a disgrace to this country. No international comity is possible as long as nations which happen to be in a relatively strong economic position use to the full their power to grind the faces of their neighbors. Naturally, however, this government is impervious to considerations of that order. It is anxious to find revenue from sources which are less unpopular than taxation. If, in doing so, it condemns a considerable part of the Continent to pass the winter without fuel, that is merely good business.

The result was a struggle over profits which should never have existed. The government claimed that the whole surplus should go in relief of taxation. The miners argued that this was equivalent, in effect, to indirect taxation upon the users of domestic coal and demanded (a) a reduction in the price of domestic coal by the fourteen shillings, two pence, which the Coal Controller added to it last May, (b) that there should be an advance in wages of two shillings—one shilling and nine pence per day for men, youths and boys respectively, on the ground that wages have not kept pace with the advance in prices. The government denounced the first of these demands as "unconstitutional," and the miners, who did not want to strike, dropped it and concentrated their attention on securing an advance in wages. The government then replied that it would not be justified in consenting to an advance in wages unless it obtained guarantees from the miners as to "output." It proposed, therefore, that the advance should be made dependent upon the total output of the industry, wages for men being increased by one shilling when the total output is 240,000,000 tons and by one shilling, six pence, when it is 244,000,000, up to three shillings when the output is 256,000,000 tons.

Industrial disputes are apt to be too technical to be interesting to any one but those engaged in them or to professional economists. In this particular case, however, large questions of social policy are involved. There is the question of how to secure an adequate supply of coal at a reasonable price, of the use to be made of the surplus profits of the industry, and of the future of the policy of "control." The Gov-

ernment's proposals with regard to the first point, emphasizing, as they do, the magic word "output," have an air to plausibility.

But the idea that the energy of the individual miner can be increased by changes in wages based on changes in the output of the whole industry throughout the whole country—that the hewer in Durham will produce more coal for the sake of an advance which may fail to materialize because the hewer in South Wales or the Forest of Dean does not—is, of course, in itself absurd. Whether "payment by results" is good or bad, the very essence of it (as in other connections employers are perpetually emphasizing) is that there should be an exact correspondence between individual earning and individual effort.

One can imagine how the cotton-spinners would greet a proposal to base the wages of the individual spinner on the output of yarn throughout the whole cotton industry! And that proposal, since the cotton industry is localized in a single county, would be a much more reasonable one. What, again, under such a scheme, will be the relation of wages to profits? Where a "sliding scale" has worked successfully, as in the iron industry, it has done so because its basis—the selling price of iron—was a rough indication of the profits being made. There is no such exact relation between the output of coal and the profits of mine-owners. As a matter of fact, there have been occasions on which it has actually paid owners in the past to restrict output in order to keep up prices!

But these, though sufficient by themselves to discredit the government's proposals, are minor matters. The actual fact, which is decisive, is that the government's proposals assumed that an increased output of coal could be secured merely, or mainly, by increased efforts on the part of the miners, and that that assumption was fundamentally mistaken. The real causes limiting output are of quite different order. They are primarily—apart from the now well known deficiencies of private ownership, such as the loss of 3,000,000,000 to 4,000,000,000 tons in barriers, the "drowning out" of coal because mine owners will not combine for drainage schemes, the "creaming" of the pits and waste of small coal, the appalling waste in distribution—the legacy of the war. Between 1914 and 1918 the equipment of the pits, as was almost inevitable, ran down. Rails, trains, tubs, new machinery of all kinds, could not be got. And since the war these conditions have continued; for the owners have been reluctant to spend fresh capital while nationalization was in the air, and the Coal Controller has taken no steps to compel them to do so. The result is that production is hampered by technical deficiencies which the miners have frequently pointed out, which were emphasized

(Continued on next page).

COAL

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by the experts who gave evidence before the Coal Commission, and which, in spite of both, still continue. It is not suggested, of course, that if there were no absenteeism, or if every miner were intent upon increasing production, the output would not rise. The truth is that the miners themselves find it difficult, under existing circumstances, to preserve their economic morale. A man hews coal, and then has to wait for hours for tubs to clear it. A colliery restricts its output one week because transport is deficient, and naturally the men are not in the mood to increase it the next. They have no power whatever to remove the technical obstacles which hamper efficient production. To propose now that they shall be penalized, because these obstacles, to which they have repeatedly called attention, are not removed, inevitably makes them indignant. From the point of view of the consumer, it is merely playing with the problem. If the government really desired increased output — and increased output is of urgent importance—why did it not at once insist on the equipment and organization of the industry being improved? There is only one answer. It dared not offend the mine-owners. And, in order to distract attention from its subservience to them, it endeavored to concentrate public attention on the alleged "idleness" of the miners.

The deficiencies of the industry were explained at length by Sir Richard Redmayne (himself an ex-director of Collieries) to the Coal Commission, and everything which has since occurred has confirmed his evidence. Behind them, however, lies a larger question, the future relation of the industry to the state. Every observer of the present issue was impressed at once by the rage with which the government and its press met the demand of the Federation for a reduction of fourteen shillings, two pence, in the price of domestic coal. It was not denied that the surplus profits are sufficient to allow of a considerable reduction being made. Why, then, this storm of indignation? Tantene animis caelestibus irae? One could have understood that the generous nature of the Prime Minister would have rebuked a proposal to increase prices. But why should the Protector of the Poor cry and cut himself with knives at the proposal to lower them?

It is not for a mere student to be so presumptuous as to explore the mind of Providence or to justify the ways of God to man. But stray whispers from the shrine penetrate even to the Courts of the Gentiles. As one cons the previous syllables, they seem gradually to coalesce into intelligibility. And the word they spell (if these barbarous innovations in our language deserve to be called words) is "Decontrol." For consider the situation. In the last six years miners' wages, which used to vary widely from one coal field

to another, have been partially standardized.

But standardization has been made possible by the partial unification of the industry introduced during the war, in particular by the levy on the collieries making more than the "standard profits" which is paid to the account of those making less. Thus the extremely remunerative mines of South Wales contribute (to some small extent) to the twelve-inch seams of the Forest of Dean, and the high prices of the export districts assist the coal fields of the midlands. Not only from the point of view of the mine-workers, but of the consumers of coal, complete financial unification (instead of the small measure of unification so far introduced) is clearly the right policy. For the cost of getting coal varies enormously from pit to pit and district to district, owing to natural causes, the position and character of the seams, the presence or absence of faults and water, and a hundred other varying conditions. The price of coal (in the absence of unification) must necessarily be high enough to cover the cost of getting it under the least favorable conditions. The result is that a price which just enables the mines in (say) the Forest of Dean to pay their way, is a fortune to shareholders in the more prosperous collieries. When the Coal Commission obtained figures as to profits, it found that they actually ranged from a loss on eight per cent. of the output, to from one shilling to five shillings a ton on fifty-four per cent., and five shillings and over (up actually to sixteen shillings, six pence) on twenty-seven per cent.

Naturally, in such an industry the economical course, as Sir Arthur Lowes-Dickenson told the Commission, is to "pool the surplus," and to use it to reduce prices, to level up working conditions and to improve the equipment of the pits. Equally naturally, the owners, especially the owners of the more profitable mines, are eager to return to the days before control, when each colliery kept its whole surplus for itself. The exporting collieries, which are getting enormous prices, would like to see "Decontrol" introduced at once; the inland collieries would like to see it introduced when the price of home coal has been raised to a point which will make their mines remunerative. Hence it is on the question of prices that the much larger question of control hinges. The miners' policy of lowering them was seen, quite rightly, to involve its continuance. The policy of "decontrol," urged by the mine-owners, involves raising prices till the poorer pits can pay their way, and incidentally, of course, greatly increasing the large profits of the more favorably situated mines. Behind the arguments as to prices and wages, therefore, lurked a large issue of policy, to which all parties occasionally referred, but which neither put in the foreground. The miners intend that the industry shall increasingly be treated as a single service and have been de-

nounced as trying to secure nationalization by a side-wind. The owners press for the abolition of such small measure of unification as already exists. The government in public states that no immediate abolition of control is intended. But the emphasis appears to be on the word "immediate." In May last they raised the price of house coal by fourteen shillings, two pence, and, whether or no they have been guilty of actually giving a secret pledge to the owners that control will be terminated, both their words and their actions point in that direction. Their object appears to be to break discreetly to the consumer the glad tidings that in future he must pay a price for his coal which will enable the least remunerative colliery to be run at a profit.

The truth is that the present organization of the coal industry has been irretrievably discredited. Not only Sir John Sankey and the majority of the Coal Commission, but Sir Arthur Duckham, Sir Richard Redmayne and the Coal Controller's office last year all suggested, with varying degrees of emphasis, the necessity for unification. In the past at least one great mine-owner has suggested the same. At present, in industrial, as in all other questions, reason is in abeyance, and the fate of the country is resigned to a struggle of interests. But some fairly serious thinking is going on below the surface. The result will not be seen till the political kaleidoscope changes.—R. H. Tawney.

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Yearly subscription: \$3.00; Single Copies: 10 cents

Published weekly by

THE CANADIAN RAILROADER LIMITED

316 LAGAUCHETIERE ST. W., Corner Beaver Hall Hill, MONTREAL

Telephone: MAIN 6222



GEORGE PIERCE, Editor

KENNEDY CRONE, Managing Editor.

Control of Business

JUDGE GARY, head of U. S. Steel, says it is possible for business men to liquidate high prices without interrupting production. "If," says the steel magnate, "there should be a serious reaction and depression, which now seems improbable, it will be the fault of those who are connected with business operations or others, who, by reason of official positions, improperly interfere, and not because of any fundamental deficiencies in our resources and opportunities." According to Judge Gary's view "it is up to the business men and women to maintain certain and continuous business activity in satisfactory volume, with fair and reasonable profits." But meantime production is being curtailed in many lines, factories are closing down or reducing hours and cutting wages, and tens of thousands are being thrown out of work. And this a few months after all the leaders in the business world were telling the workers that increased production was necessary!

Can business men control their own system? Judge Gary says they can. But the fact remains that they are not doing so at the present moment. Much against their will business is showing signs of depression. Some talk wisely of the natural laws of economics—of how periods of depression follow periods of activity. And they think they have solved the phenomena they attribute them to the operation of the laws of supply and demand.

The fact is that many business men stand as much in awe of economic phenomena as the savage did of natural phenomena. Glance over a financial paper, and you find that business men have as many fetishes in the world of economics as the savages had in the natural world. But why shouldn't we control these economic forces as we have learned to harness natural forces to our service? These economic laws or phenomena, about which business men talk so mysteriously, are only the results of human activities. Their operations can be controlled; they can be adjusted to our needs. But first it is necessary for the business world to bravely face the facts of the system of commodity production, and not growl in fear, as the savage did before natural phenomena that he did not understand. We have discarded superstition from the natural world, it is time business men discarded their superstitious attitude to economic phenomena. If business men pursue their individual purposes they cannot control their system, and the present tendency to depression will increase till disaster overtakes many of them. But if they will boldly recognize the real character of the problem, and take concerted action, they can liquidate high prices and establish business on a basis of reasonable profits without

serious inconveniences. Those who say they cannot control the course of business take precisely the attitude of the ignorant worker who holds that wages are determined by a mysterious law called supply and demand. Acting as individuals, it is true enough that the workers are powerless to determine their wages, but when they form a union and act in concert they find that their power over wages is proportionate to the extent and determination of their organization. Similarly business men through organized effort could very well regulate the machinery of production, and control its operations in the general interests. They have shown their ability to combine their efforts to water stock and inflate prices. And as Judge Gary observes, it is now up to them to prove their ability to liquidate stocks and prices, and at the same time keep the wheels of business moving with sufficient power to give everybody an opportunity to earn a livelihood. If they fail to do this—if business men show themselves powerless to control their own system—they will lay themselves open to the charge of incompetence, and give Bolshevism a good excuse to challenge the whole system of capitalism. A grave responsibility rests upon business men; even if they have to make substantial sacrifices it is up to them to carry on, and not slow down production, and throw men out of work. Their only right to leadership is the competence to carry on, and, if they fail at this juncture there is bound to be serious trouble. Armies of unemployed will not be patient. After four years of slaughter and destruction, one of the chief bulwarks of modern civilization, respect for life and property, has been sadly shaken.

Colin McKay.

H. C. of L. Down Six Cents

THERE has been a lot of talk about the "downward slash" and the "slump" in the high cost of living, but I beg leave to intrude to say that, in dealing with the realities of life, I have not noticed any decline worth talking about.

"But look at sugar and clothes!" says somebody. Yes, look at them. Sugar shot up 500 per cent. above 1914 prices, and it has slipped back to 250 per cent. above. Clothes shot up 250 per cent. and have gone down to about 175 per cent. above 1914 prices. On the other hand, while sugar and clothes have eased off a bit, bacon, eggs, milk and coal have taken another step up, evidently just to equalize things. My own estimate is that the cost of living as a whole has hardly budged downwards the value of a box of matches in the last three months, and that the best thing that can be said for it is that it has stopped climbing.

If these seem heretical statements, they are at least partly supported by the figures given on November 16 by the Government in its monthly statement on the cost of living. The Government says that the average worker's weekly cost of staple foods for a family of five was \$15.83 at the middle of October, as against \$15.95 in September, \$14.21 in October of last year, and \$7.93 in October, 1914. That is to say, there was a drop of 12 cents a week in October as compared with September, or about half a dollar a month. Well, I'll make a compromise. Call the decline six cents a week. It's of no importance, anyway.

—Kennedy Crone



OLD GROUCH, says: "The Chicago Federation of Labor has decided that every delegate must be able to show at least eight labels on his wearing apparel, and the Metal Polishers' Journal says this ought not to be a hard matter for a real trade unionist. If prices do not hurry down it will be a hard matter for a trade unionist or non-unionist to show eight articles of wearing apparel."

School Supplies

AS things are now, school books and other school supplies cost a pot of money, and it is rare, also, that they can be bought in one store. To make up a pupil's high school set of books this fall, parents had to make a round of no fewer than seven traders, which is an absurd condition. At that, some of the books required could not be bought at all, editions being out of print.

It would seem as if it would be cheaper, as it would certainly be more convenient, to have school boards print or buy the books wholesale, and sell them direct to the pupils in the class rooms. Standardization, notably of "scribblers," pens, pencils, erasers and such like, would reduce costs. There are scores of varieties

of these things, and expense rises in proportion to variety.

Most school books are used for only one year. There does not seem to be any good reason why they should not be used year after year until they are no longer in good condition, or until they are removed from the lists of books required. Some children are rough on books, of course, and a year's wear and tear reduces their books to tatters, but these are the unusual cases, and if the pupils thought they could get, say, half the original price of the books, after use, if in good condition, the percentage of carelessly-handled books would probably be reduced. The used books could be sold to the new pupils needing them. Many parents would welcome the opportunity of buying second-hand books in good order at half price. Some school principals of their own accord already sell some second-hand books for the convenience of pupils. Quite recently I heard of a case where a pupil bought \$15 worth of second-hand high school books for \$3.50, a very important saving.

Perhaps the idea of selling the second-hand books might be put on a regular business basis in the schools. The old books would thus bring money to those who have no further use for them, and represent a saving to those just entering on their use.

—Kennedy Crone

Town Planning

NEXT to the problem of housing — on which something appeared in these columns last week — that of town planning is one of paramount importance in Canada, for just so soon as the building trade revives, there is sure to be great development of cities, towns and villages throughout the Dominion. An indication of the interest which is being manifested in this subject of town planning is seen in the publication of the preliminary number of the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, which has been issued at Ottawa. "The Town Planning Institute of Canada," it is explained, "was formed a little more than a year ago with the object of advancing the scientific study and practice of town planning in Canada. It was felt by the promoters that there was need of an organization that would bring architects, engineers, surveyors and landscape architects into definite professional relation with town planning with a view to qualification for the increasing demand for town planning work. In Britain and the United States, scientific town planning has become a definite profession, and the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain has been the means of guaranteeing the qualification of its members when the demand has come from towns, cities and rural districts for the preparation of plans for future development. . . . It is recognized that the most authoritative qualification might best come from the universities, and it is part of the object of the Canadian Town Planning Institute to promote education courses in the Canadian universities, and make town planning a branch of applied science with the imprimatur of the university. Toronto University has taken the first step in this direction, and has already held a short series of lectures on town planning. . . . The professors of architecture in McGill University have also considered the question and are strongly in favor of the movement if the necessary funds become available. This is clearly a great opportunity for wealthy and benevolent citizens to endow town planning chairs in the universities of Canada."

To anyone who knows the British Isles and European towns, the necessity for town planning in this Dominion, if it is to make a bid for the population of fifty million inhabitants of which optimists speak, is most apparent. The old world cities and towns were many of them picturesque on account of their very lack of uniformity, so long as industrialism did not take hold of them; but when factories were erected in Lancashire or pits opened in Durham and Northumberland, and there arose in the vicinity long ugly rows of cottages, interspersed with dingy shops, the result was anything but pleasing, especially when the rears of the cottages were built without regard to neatness. Of these evils people had some opportunity of judging in the lecture recently given by Mrs. Barnett. But the new shack town of Canada is an equal abomination, and there are sights in the North End of Montreal and on the South Shore sufficient to make one shudder. If the twentieth century is going to be Canada's, let us have twentieth century towns and cities. The trouble with Canada is that while it is horribly afraid of being dictated to by the Mother Country, it calmly adopts social systems which have been discredited over there, and which, in spite of century-old traditions, Great Britain is to-day striving to undo. In a country which is a dwarf beside this Dominion, such splendid experiments as Letchworth First Garden City, and Hampstead Suburb Garden City, have successfully instituted.

There are some cities in this country which are practically

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suburbs for the prosperous citizens of an adjoining mixed-up industrial city. This is not right. Town Planning on the zone system is gaining favor in the United States, whereby factories and workshops are confined to a given area, and residential districts are kept intact, but the residential districts of the toilers are equally protected and are provided with parks, good streets and properly built, though small, houses.

The president of the Town Planning Institute of Canada is Mr. Thomas Adams, and the secretary is Mr. A. H. Hawkins, of the Topographical Surveys Department, Ottawa.

—Caedmon

Bordeaux Jail

(By Kennedy Crone)

TWO Saturdays ago, as one-third of a committee of inspection which will present its detailed report in due course, I was in Bordeaux Jail, that large and elaborate cage for the careless which stands on the edge of the city and which the ordinary citizen knows as much about as I know about the gasoline problem in Teheran or Timbuctoo.

It replaced the old Montreal Jail near the harbor front, the sort of gloomy and forbidding place that gave the visitor the creeps (not to speak of creeping things) and which could readily be invested, in fancy at least, with all the jail horrors that the mid-Victorian reformers wrote about. I once saw a man strapped to the triangle in the old jail, and flogged with the cat-o'-nine-tails till his back was a mass of purple stripes. His shrieks searched out the grim passages and grated cubbyholes and dungeons, the prisoners shrinking nervously in their cells and the rats scampering to their secret recesses. Few persons would have had much sympathy with the wretch on the triangle, but the spectacle was, nevertheless, a very unpleasant one which seemed to fit in with the whole physical character of the jail, and I mention it only because of that.

The new jail at Bordeaux is quite a different institution from a physical point of view. The earlier re-

formers, looking at it to-day from that point of view alone, might even feel that the reforms they had set afoot had swung to the other extreme. There are many decent families in the city living in (and paying for the privilege) less commodious, less healthy, less pleasant and less comfortable premises. However, do not get the notion that Bordeaux Jail is a fine place to spend a holiday. I am sure it is not, nor should it be. The precise degree in which it is not interests me a good deal, but I cannot tell much about it, for it is one thing to be an outsider shown around by the governor and quite another to be a prisoner amenable to all the rules, regulations and observances. An inspection of the sort I was engaged in is interpretative of a jail only within certain narrow limitations; it is largely superficial; and I would decline to have my report used as evidence of the efficiency and humanity of a prison system in general. Bordeaux Jail is a fine one physically, and apparently, also, in some of its methods. For the rest, I simply do not know, and no conducted tour by a governor will ever enlighten me. This is said with all due respect to Governor Landriault, whom I have known for 12 years or so. On the other hand, prisoners are not reliable interpreters of the interior economy and other features of the jail, and I have been turning it over in my mind recently (and find others have been doing the same), the question as to whether or not the only way to really know a jail or penitentiary is to slip in a squad of dependable inspectors posed as actual prisoners.

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(The New Republic, New York.)

"The growth of unemployment is not pleasant from a social point of view, but economically it may prove a blessing through the infusion of increased efficiency, reduced labor costs and an improvement in the morale of employees."

THIS quotation is taken from a circular letter sent to its customers by an important Wall Street brokerage house. It is worth study, because it is a sign of the times. It represents, we believe, not merely the thought of an isolated business man, but of a very considerable part of the financial community. And let us remember, the financial community centering in Wall Street acts on its opinions, and its action is potent in the course of industry. There will be more unemployment if Wall Street considers it a blessing than there would be if Wall Street regarded it as an unmitigated evil.

Nor is the blessing theory of unemployment and hard times confined to the financiers. The textile manufacturers of Philadelphia see ahead of them a chance of purging the industry of "radical trade union leadership." In New England and the South there is an active movement for a sharp reduction of wages in cotton manufactures which has already resulted in rather extensive wages cutting. In New York the trucking employers are insisting upon a longer day at the same wages. These are only skirmishes, but they presage an industrial conflict that may assume very grave proportions.

It is the view of many employers that, partly in consequence of the tremendous demand for production and the shortage of labor during the war, and partly in consequence of the policies of the government, labor has come to feel its oats and needs or so shown its proper place. And pre-wars to them as if conditions audacious favorable for a fight to the finish. The national government has fallen into the hands of the kind of Republicans who can be depended on to assume a position of benevolent neutrality, at the very least. Prices are falling and the demand for goods is so uncertain that in many cases a shut down would possibly be advantageous to profits, at least until the market has been cleared of existing stocks. The press, never too sensitive about labor's rights, might now be expected to fulminate satisfactorily against the unwillingness of labor to take its share in the losses incident to deflation. The general public could be induced to identify the alleged greed and inefficiency of labor with the causes of the high cost of living. What better chance will be found of restoring the pre-war "morale" of labor and the undisputed control of industry by the capitalist employer? The argument is just as good as the German argument for

striking in 1914 instead of waiting until her opponents became stronger. That was a very cogent argument, but it led to disaster. And our industrial militants, toasting Der Tag, may profitably try to make certain that this cause is good and the costs not likely to be disastrous.

The price of the products of labor is falling, reducing the capacity of employers to pay high wages. The cost of living is going down, reducing the need of labor for high wages. If it was fair and reasonable that wages should go up when prices rose, why is it not equally fair and reasonable that wages should go down when prices fall? Labor organizations will resist any such reduction in wages; therefore why is it not legitimate to attempt to break their power? Workers might respond to wages cutting by soldiering on the job, if jobs were plentiful. Not, however, if their tenure were menaced by the unemployed, desperately seeking work. This, in brief, is the moral case for forcing the issue with labor at the present time. Let us see how valid it is.

Has the rise in wages since 1914 fairly paralleled the rise in prices? On the average, yes. There was a lag, for a time, but that has since been made up. And if wages in 1914 had been adequate to a decent American standard of living, it would be a tenable position that as prices gravitate towards the 1914 level, wages should do so also. But no competent economist, however conservative, would maintain that wages in 1914 were adequate. At the most modest estimate, over half of our adult male workers received too little for the decent maintenance of the normal family. That is the condition it is sought to re-establish, when it is proposed to cut wages in the same proportion as the cost of living falls. It is a condition that no one who hopes to see America become a healthy and harmonious democratic state can contemplate without dread. For in America, as in the rest of the world, the working class is less patient under distress than it was before the war.

We are not maintaining that no reduction in wages is admissible. Perhaps a new level of wages will have to be found in the course of the price adjustments now under way. What we do maintain is that the burden of proof ought to rest heavily upon every employer who proposes either to cut wages or to restrict his operations. He ought to be compelled to prove to labor and to the public not only that continued operation under existing wages scales is unprofitable, but he ought also to make it clear that his embarrassment is not due to inefficiency of management or failure to keep his mechanical equipment in proper condition. The public, which

though neutral, has to share the cost of industrial conflict, has a right to demand that capital and labor consult together openly on ways of meeting the difficulties inevitable in a period of declining prices. And so long as capital, instead of inviting labor into consultation, schemes to break down the only organization existing through which consultation is practicable, in order to fix the terms of employment according to its own arbitrary choice, it is flouting the public, whose sympathies it will later seek to gain.

Capital may feel that it is strong enough to challenge labor, but so long as it persists in treating the readjustment of employment and wages as a matter falling within its own sphere of divine right, it cannot count on the continued support of public opinion, even if at first it wins the public to its side by propaganda. The steel and coal strikes proved that the public could be deluded into siding with employers who had no case, but it also proved that sooner or later the truth would come to light. And capital, if it possesses any statesmanship, will not be content to plan for the initial engagements. It will look ahead not only to next year, but also to the end of the next decade.

Now, can anyone imagine that the forces of unrest, everywhere manifest in the working class, even though not properly organized to win immediate victories, can be capped and contained through a decade by threats of unemployment and wages cutting? And can anyone, knowing the spirit of the working class of to-day, dream that an army of the unemployed will be a mere convenience to the employer who wishes to beat wages down or speed up labor? Before the war the unemployed did indeed hover patiently about the soup kitchen doors, or wait interminable hours in the bread line. But this is not the same world as it was before the war. And those who have most at stake in the existing order of things will do well to take this fact into account before

they attempt to apply antebellum methods of improving the morale of labor.

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A Progressive Employer

(Labor World, Montreal)

THE widest publicity should be given to a recent announcement made by Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes, president of the Oneida Community, Ltd., as reported in the Montreal Gazette of November 3rd. The Oneida Community is apparently an American concern whose Canadian headquarters are at Niagara Falls, Ont., and which give employment in both countries to some 3,500 persons.

In the year 1918 these 3,500 employees found themselves like everybody else hard hit by the high cost of living. It was felt by the management that something must be done. The question was given careful consideration, information was gathered, and statistics studied. In January, 1917, the "high cost of living envelope" was adopted. This provided an increase of 16 per cent. to the existing wages. The amount of this increase rose steadily until at one time in 1920 each employee was receiving 50 per cent. more than his 1917 rate of pay. At the same time the Oneida Community instituted a "service wage" running in some instances as high as 12 per cent., and governed by the length of time the worker had been with the company.

So far so good. But the most significant part of Mr. Noyes' announcement is that relating to the policy to be pursued by his company from now onwards. Mr. Noyes said in part: "To-day we have reached another time of great uncertainty. Commodities are dropping in price, and there is much agitation (largely behind the scenes) looking to a corresponding drop in wages. The Oneida Community has been prosperous. There is every evidence that its prosperity is founded on a very solid basis and is likely to continue. Much of that prosperity has been due to the employees. The managers of the Oneida Community Limited have believed that the amount of wages paid has less to do with the cost of production than the service given. We have believed that our ambition to make the entire organization from manager and president down to the humblest worker in the shops a partnership which would divide in a fair way any prosperity which resulted among all those who helped create that prosperity would, in spite of apparent wages higher than competitors were paying, bring about a low cost of production, enabling the company to compete with any manufacturer in the world, and thus ensuring continued prosperity and continued high wages.

"Between the workers and the management we have done the impossible during the last two years. You will have turned out \$18,000,000 of goods in a plant whose maximum capacity was figured at not

over \$5,000,000. The spirit that has done this can carry a higher wage than exists anywhere else in the world for the same service and still make goods lower than competitors who pay much less wages.

"I went through an English plant some years ago and the manager told me the wages he paid. There was not a man there who was getting one-half as much as our employees for the same work and yet the cost of the same goods in our factory was less than in this English factory. This is only an illustration.

"After much discussion and a thorough examination of past figures and future prospects, it has been decided that now is the time to put wages on such a permanent basis that the workers need not worry about the future. Beginning November 1 all wages, salaries, and piece-work prices will be advanced 50 per cent., taking the place of the sliding scale of the high cost of living which will then be abandoned.

... Our confidence in this move we are making to-day is founded on our knowledge of you and what you will do. ... Prices of everything are sure to fall to some extent. There is an honest belief in many quarters that wages must fall with these prices. I personally believe that the increased prosperity and happiness which has been acquired by the laboring class during this period of great activity will remain with them. I certainly intend that it shall remain with our employees and more when there is a chance."

So simple and yet so wonderful. Simple in its recognition of the fact that the workman is a creature of flesh and blood able and willing to respond to humane treatment, but wonderful in its frank admission that the worker is a partner with a right to share in the proceeds. Think of the pronouncements of our "Great Organs" on the subject! Think how our good old-fashioned friend the Montreal Gazette has preached in season and out of season the need for lower wages. And yet here is a manufacturer stating boldly that he will not reduce wages, and that while his men were being paid twice as much of those of competitors he could still turn out the same article at a cheaper price. "The spirit that has done this can carry a higher wage than exists anywhere else in the world for the same services and still make goods lower than competitors who pay much less wages. I certainly intend that it shall remain with our employees and more when there is a chance." Does anybody doubt that if such a spirit and such methods were applied to industry as a whole the results would not be the same as with the Oneida Community?

One looks in vain for some recog-

nition in the editorial columns of the Gazette of such an enlightened pronouncement and such a wise and kindly policy. But no notice is taken. The usual "deep and obstinate silence" is maintained. Indeed in the same issue of the Gazette there is to be found an editorial raising a feeble cackle of joy about a Labor set-back in English Municipal Elections. "Now is the time to put wages on such a permanent basis that the workers need not worry about the future," says Mr. Noyes. "If you give the workman an old-age pension or insurance against employment you will destroy his spirit of independence," says the Gazette. The one, you see, believes in removing financial worry

from the worker's mind as far as possible; the other thinks it is advantageous to keep him worrying. It is the difference between the old school and the new. Still, of course, we must never forget that the Gazette calls itself "Canada's greatest newspaper." Can anyone suggest how we can get the Old Dear pushed up abreast of the times?

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Actors Say They Will Not Work With Scabs

Shows Must be Cast Either With All Union or All Non-Union Players.

Hereafter union actors will not play in the same company with non-union actors.

This decision was arrived at in New York at a meeting of the Actors' Equity Association. The meeting at which this important step was taken was attended by 1,800 members of the actors' union. It will be submitted to the 10,000 members of the organization by referendum before notice is served on the theatrical managers.

In this way a clear line will be drawn between fair theatrical shows and unfair shows. No manager can pass the buck. Neither will any manager be able to claim in loud words that he is fair to labor and then fill his cast with two-thirds non-union actors and one-third Equity members and hope to get by. All plays, musical comedies, operas, etc., will be either union or non-union, and that is all there is to it.

The actors have made use of the title of their organization in planning their new move. They do not call it the union shop. They call it the equity shop. This substitution of words makes it clear that the union shop is the only kind of a labor proposition that is fair (that is, equitable) to the workers and the boss at the same time. It gives the boss an organization to deal with and it gives the worker a chance to stand up for his interests against the boss, by enabling him to act in concert with his fellows.

In explaining the action of the actors, John Emerson, president of the Actors' Equity Association, said:

"The association does not mean to force theatrical managers to employ organized performers. We do mean to say, however, that all theatrical casts will be composed fully either of union or non-union performers."

Inasmuch as all the actors that amount to a hang belong to the Actors' Equity Association, it is easy to see where this leaves the managers.

Newswriters Win

The members of the Newswriters' Union of Boston, Mass., have won a great victory. They have not only obtained a solid increase of wages but have received a recognition of the union.

A flat increase of \$5 a week in the minimum wage of all members of the Boston Newswriters' Union has been agreed upon by the publishers of the Boston daily newspapers. The offer of the publishers followed negotiations with the Newswriters' Wage Conference committee extending as far back as April 6. The increase will become effective at once.

It was not until Mr. John F. Murphy, New England representative of the International Typographical Union, was empowered to call a strike of the union membership, however, that the Boston publishers made the \$5 increase offer, which was in the nature of a compromise to the union's demands.

For several months the publishers dodged the issue and attempted to sidetrack the demand of the union for a readjustment of wages, and it was largely due to the efforts of Representative Murphy, backed by the official sanction of the I. T. U., with which the newswriters are affiliated, that the present increase was obtained.

Under the terms of the news scale, which was accepted by the union at a special meeting in Myers hall, Tremont Temple, on October 22, the wages of district men were raised from \$30 to \$35; of reporters from \$38 to \$43; and of copy desk and rewrite men from \$45 to \$50 a week. This is the accepted minimum wage in these several classifications only. Special writers and "star" reporters are entitled to as much above the minimum as they can obtain.



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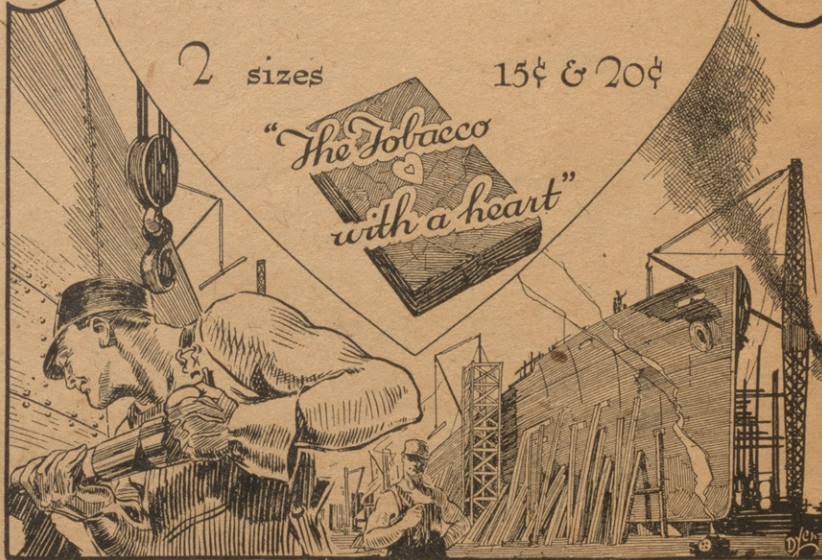
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NEWSPAPERS BENT ON HAVING STRIKE.

(Continued from page 5).

ing organized mainly for that purpose, the citizens of Montreal would probably be facing a policemen's strike every year.

The best safeguard that the citizens of Montreal can have against policemen's strikes lies in the present organization. Let me prove it:

When we organized into a union, in September, 1918, after years of mistreatments of all sorts, our first act was to draw up a list of all our grievances and submit it to the civic authorities. After two months of useless pleadings and intercessions, we had not been able to gain any satisfactory answer. But even then, we did not say: Give us what we want or we go on strike. We remembered that there is a law of this country, called the "Industrial Disputes Act" or the "Lemieux Act," which has been enacted for the express purpose of settling differences between employers and employees without having recourse to strikes or lock-outs. The application of that act is compulsory, in the case of public utility companies, when either the employees or the employer ask for it, but in all other cases, both sides have to accept it or it does not apply. We requested the Minister of Labor to establish a board of conciliation to inquire into our grievances. In other words, we said to the city: Let us submit our difference to arbitration and see who is right. But the city refused, and we had no other course of action left open but to bow down our heads and continue to submit to the same mistreatments, or go on strike. We went on strike and remained out for 36 hours, but as soon as the city accepted arbitration we went back to work.

Someone said lately that we should rely upon public opinion to protect us. Two years ago, public opinion never took any notice of us until we had been on strike for 24 hours.

Last year we submitted demands regarding our salaries and working conditions which were not granted. We again asked for arbitration which was again refused by the city. And we did not go on strike. Rather than inflict another policemen's strike upon the citizens, we bowed down to a salary schedule of famine, and to very unjust treatment; unjust to us and unjust to the public interest.

What did public opinion do? Nothing.

We have, at the present moment, demands before the Administrative Commission regarding our salaries and working conditions for the coming year. The Administrative Commission is intimating, through the newspapers, that they will not grant them. If this is true, we will again apply for arbitration. Shall we get it? Here is a good opportunity for public opinion to show its existence.

Now let me try to demonstrate, if it is not already demonstrated, that the Policemen's Union's main object is to prevent strikes. The first year of our organizing, we sent a delegation to the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at Hamilton, and had a resolution adopted instructing the executive of that body to request the Federal Government to amend the Industrial Disputes Act so as to include the policemen in the same category with the employees of public

utility companies. Since then, we have sent delegations to press our request with the Minister of Labor, the Leader of the Opposition, and various conventions and conferences who have studied that question. It has now come to a point where the Federal Government agrees with our request but claims that the approval of the Provincial Governments is necessary to allow that law to be amended in the desired direction. We are not discouraged. We will continue our efforts with the Provincial Governments this time, in order to have a law enacted that will remove the danger of policemen's strikes.

What will public opinion do? Here is another chance for it to assert itself.

Now, Mr. Editor, tell us frankly: Are we looking for strikes and trouble, or for peace and public interest?

I hope you will excuse this long communication, but it contains none but facts that cannot be disputed, and I believe that you would be serving the good interests of the public by placing them before your readers.

ARTHUR BOUCHARD,
President.
Policemen's Federal Labor Union.

Montreal, Nov. 13, 1920.

It is a good answer. He has evidently been impressed by the "it is understood," which is unfortunate. He should take his impression of the Commissioners direct from the Commissioners and let the newspapers go hang, for they evidently want to embroil him with the Commissioners.

An editorial note is stuck at the end of President Bouchard's letter. It reads:

(The citizens want the police to get good wages, extra good wages. They want the city protected. It cannot be protected if the police in a body or the firemen in a body or the waterworks staff in a body have obligated themselves so that strikes can take place. There must be no strikes on the part of these bodies, and, taking this view, the public are willing to pay them special wages for loyal, dependable service, free from every extraneous influence. It should not be necessary for the police to be in a union. Anyway, they cannot earn the pay as union men that they can as free, independent servants of the city.—Ed. Star.)

The police were never free and independent servants of the city until they joined the union. The city has never been so well and honorably policed as it is now (allowing for the inadequacy of numbers, with which the police have nothing to do, and which they would like to see remedied), because the men are in a union and the undesirables cannot control them individually as they used to do. The union will not "stand for" control that is not in the best interests of the citizens. If only half of our other institutions were as earnestly and conscientiously conducted as our Police Union, this would be a great city to live in.

The Star says that the citizens want the police to get extra good wages, but there must be no striking and no extraneous influences. How does the Star know that the citizens are thinking along these lines? Evidently the citizens did not think along these lines before. "It should not be necessary for the police to be in a union," says the Star. Of course not, but the millennium isn't here yet. "Anyway, they cannot earn the pay as union men that they can as free, independent servants of the city," says the Star. Which is just Star nonsense, for they are earning more as union

men than they could have hoped to earn as non-union men, and they are more likely to earn still more because they are union men. If they were out of the union to-morrow, farewell to the prospects of an increase and other considerate treatment.

Perhaps enough quotation has been given here to show that the newspapers are just sowing the seeds for a strike with all their challenges and tricky phrasing and misinformation. The union, for its part, is doing its best to keep out of a strike. If the papers succeed in bringing about a clash, it might not be a bad plan for the citizens to present them with the bill of expense.

"I suppose you would be terribly disappointed if you were not returned to Congress."

"I'm not sure," replied Senator Sorghum. "Sometimes I think it would be a relief to lay off for a term and criticize the other fellows."

—Washington Star.

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There was a young lady named Jessup,

Whose sole aim in life was to dress up—

But her numerous beaux

Were afraid to propeaux—

"It's the price of her heaux," they confess up.

—London Opinion.

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PASTRIES

Can you guess it?

There are housewives whose cake is always praised—whose pastry is famous for its melting flakiness—whose firm, light bread wins daily compliments—whose puddings are noted for savoury lightness—whose cookies are so lastingly crisp.

They have one rule that applies to all their baking

Can you guess it?

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Non-unionism Means Feudalism

The union shop is a challenge to absolutism in industry.

In the union shop the employer is shorn of autocratic power to set wages, hours and working conditions. Here, joint bargaining is the rule. The workers have a voice.

This employer is less frank than the Roman slave owner and the feudal baron, both of whom controlled the lives of their chattels. But his purpose is the same — mastery over the men and women of toil.

He makes no pretence of superiority and divine right, as did other autocrats. He talks of liberty and equal opportunity.

His liberty is to have each worker, single-handed, pit his wit and his need to labor against a trustified industry that is powerful enough to defy government, debauch the judiciary and corrupt public opinion.

His equal opportunity is for workers to be content with wages set by employers or by officials of the state who are controlled by him.

This employer believes in labor organizations — if he has "the last guess." He must be the court of last resort, have the final word in every dispute.

To talk of liberty where non-unionism exists is mockery. There can be no democracy where employers have personally-controlled company "unions" and welfare systems,

as did slave owners who boasted of their kind treatment to vassals.

There are only two systems in industry — union and non-union.

The union system rests on collective bargaining and the workers' right to be represented by persons of their own choosing.

The non-union system rests on individual bargaining with the worker pleading his own case or by a person the employer approves.

The non-union system is never referred to as such by feudal employers. Their publicity agents coin catchy phrases to cloak this un-American system.

Their "open-shop," "free labor" and similar terms are tricky, deceitful and misleading.

Man's noblest ideals are "gutterized" by these labor exploiters who would destroy independence in their workers.

These non-union employers, these petty autocrats, lack the courage of German militarists who boldly declared: "Might makes right."

The need for trade union agitation and education was never so urgent.

The difference between the union and non-union system should be stressed at mass meetings, by discussion and every other publicity method.

Unionism means resistance to wrong.

Non-unionism means docility, servility and "squaw men."—American Federation of Labor News Letter.

THE

Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada

Its Only Aim Is The Welfare Of The Masses

THE people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada exists to see to it that the workers by hand and brain are directly represented in the law-making bodies of the Dominion; to find, train, and elect the right men of our own class in order to secure the kind of legislation that will protect and advance the interests of the workers.

It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges, and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES:—

To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational laws where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the "Canadian Railroader", the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxation from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 316 Lagachetiere St., west, Montreal. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The Treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

An application blank will be found below. Merely fill out the application blank, buy a postal order for \$2 and send it to Dominion Headquarters. Your membership card will be forwarded by return mail. Join this great organization in the interests of education and clean politics. *To-day is the day and this is the hour. Become a member now.*

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To the Secretary,
The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada.
General Headquarters, 316 Lagachetiere Street, West,
corner of Beaver Hall Hill, MONTREAL.

I hereby make application for membership in "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" I subscribe and agree to pay while a member, the yearly sum of \$2.00 in advance.

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